Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./

obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirianá.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Deminí nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/10 cont./
114 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in
142 the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-
[824] work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot
● [352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened
[354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
231 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
342 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174] 241

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriâna. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacîk -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 115). Since the yâritanacîk is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surá'ŋ
Pakidái
Shiriana
waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
[513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriána are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
171

Even highly civilized peoples, however, for example, the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that at present is still living on the Acre, Seruini, and Ituxí rivers in the Brazilian state of Amazonas (250), formerly used these hammocks without weft, as

250. Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, p. 75.

is confirmed by a specimen in the Berlin ethnological museum (VB 3758) (251). There were also some, however, that were bound

251. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

[114] by means of one or two rather long cross-strips. With respect to their purpose and manufacture, my observations among the Surára and Pakidái are almost identical with Ehrenreich's statements concerning the Ipurina. Thus, the investigator named writes: "The extremely primitive, but serviceable hammocks which the Ipurina use in an emergency on journeys, hunting expeditions, etc. clearly show how this useful implement may have been invented.

"Four or five strips of bast (embira) two meters long and 3-4 centimeters wide are simply loosened from the tree and gathered together at the ends, and sometimes bound together by one or two shorter cross-strips. In any case, lying in it requires no little skill and practice" (252).

252. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 63.

The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, however, owns one hammock that is still more primitive. It comes from the Nahukuá (Nahuqua), a Karaiben /Carib/ tribe of the Xingú source region, and consists only of a bundle of grass, which, tied together at top and bottom, served as a sleeping arrangement for children (VB 2624) (253).

253. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanaçík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokë -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
352 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front
284 of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriána, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
Pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
286 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
[824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

2: Becher--103 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960
SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/48 cont./ Surára Pakidái

352 286 174 171 According to the classification by Max Schmidt, who differentiates three groups for the plaiting technique in South America, the cotton hammocks made by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

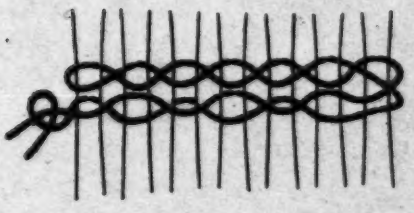

Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 of rushes or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is

286
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171

259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xiriána. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced
DDD from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

352 /48 cont./ From a Photograph
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174
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taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waiká make their

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waiká (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

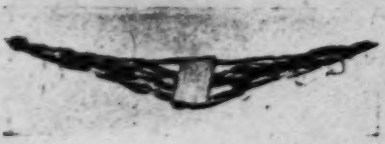
This cotton hammock of the Waiká, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

2: Becher--274 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí



Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/
Surára
Pakidái

352
516
854
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Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

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231

142
302
291
516
372

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

• [352]

177 342 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

353 [179]

105 422 484 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

[352]

/202 cont./

572 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

4: Wilbert--64 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

291
142
516
854

Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

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516
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A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house. The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanemá

142
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516
854
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Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

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516

Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ: Sanema

142
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291
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516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

The Samatari were eating all sorts of things: there were stacks of little green bundles, which would have made the smiling Sempronio die with envy. (Where he had disappeared to, we did not know.) These provisions were piled up under tiny roofs of leaves, beside little pyramids of nuts, green fruit, varicoloured fruit, hard fruit and soft fruit. The grown-ups and children were tucking in without more ado. There were white grubs, a little on the hairy side, that had the exquisite savour of crayfish; putrid worms from the Mauritius Palm, looking like *gnocchi*; earthworms, squeezed and cleaned, their flesh the colour of loin of pork, or when they were served in heaps, rosy like spaghetti and tomato sauce. There were whole honeycombs taken from the wild bees, the cells full of brood; the look and smell of them was like rich pine-kernels;[1] bags of honey, which when mixed with water gave a cool, slightly heady drink; small snake-cutlets, like fleshy eels; gigantic Maripa Palm hearts broken into chunks, like crumbly Parmesan cheese; mounds of cut tapir meat and smoked slices of peccary, which were black as coal outside but all rosy and fragrant within, like the heart of a spring lamb. There were bundles of fish dried and toasted over the fire, which ate with something of the flavour of almond cake, though it was more exotic. . . .

The leaf-wrapped viands hovered sizzling over the flames, and the greasy savours breathed out into the night air, so that the animal-lair atmosphere of the camp was wreathed in a homely smell of cooking. But for our part there was only hunger, stretching like a wide sea whose tides beat against the fertile shore of the Samatari land, with its sweet-smelling mountains and fruit and game and its propitiation to the gods of plenty—the duly gnawed bones hung up over the fire lest the smell of them should warn off the next day's bag.

But we, in our ocean of hunger, had at least one satisfaction—our hammocks, our warm and welcoming hammocks, made of stout cloth. They swung like glorious battleships over the wretched little flotilla of the tiny Samatari contraptions.

The Samatari, whose possessions are so simple as to be almost non-existent, have three types of hammock, depending upon the resources of the country round about, since they never carry their sleeping gear with them but always improvise it on the spot, except in very special cases where the rich and great affect a mobbish luxury. The most elementary model is composed of three or four strips of the flexible bark of the Annona which is known in Guiana as

[1] Used in Indian cooking.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Yara-Yara. These strips are a few centimetres wide, their ends being twisted into a rope and tied to two trees. Less common is the hammock made from the rootstock of an iriartea, the palm which tends to cling slyly to the traveller with its thorns, lurking on the young shoots. The rootstock often lies above ground, twice the length of a man's arm and almost as thick. It is carefully stripped of its spines, which come off easily, and then clubbed to a pulp. In this way the very strong fibres are easily removed. They spread open very readily, and the Samatari are careful not to pulp the ends, leaving seven or eight inches of the rootstock intact so that it can be hung on to any convenient spur on a tree.

Finally there is the hammock de luxe, the one the mobs carry with them because it takes a certain amount of time to make and its more select raw material cannot be found everywhere. This is a superlatively strong liana known in Spanish as *alambrito*, or wire, because of its strength and its habit of growth. Quite apart from its use for hammocks among the Shirians, this liana is one of the main forest products, being used for all sorts of purposes by all the inhabitants, from the most civilized to the most primitive. It serves for binding the walls of huts, for weaving and basketwork and, as we have said, for hammocks of a superior quality.

This liana is about as thick as a pencil and easy to peel and slip open into a number of pliable white strands rounded on one side and flat on the other. About a hundred of these strands, banded together halfway between the two ends with twisted bark rope, make the hammock. It is strong and springy, but alas, like all Shirian hammocks, unstable, uncomfortable, and very small. Stretched out in them, with the imprint cutting deeply into their skin, the Samatari pass their nights without stirring, their feet on a higher level than their heads as if they were following the most modern therapeutic principles, smoking themselves in the piquant fumes of their fire, which is kept continually burning and replenished by the more youthful members of the tribe. The fire is their blanket—'the blanket of the night'—as they themselves call it.

V

At some point during the night, Solituan turned up wearing my trousers. After they had made their mysterious rounds, it seemed, they had fallen to

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

[411]
[352]

289 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First
854 they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

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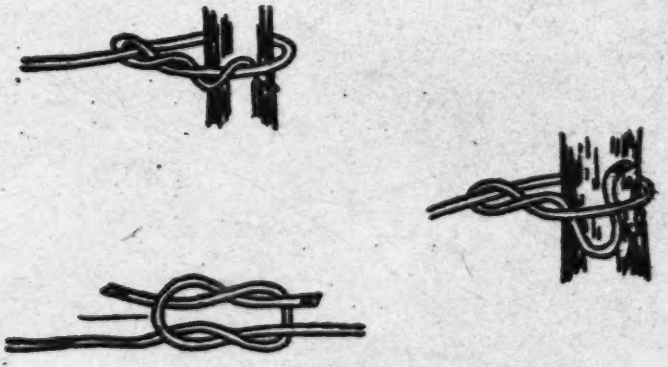

/Fig. 2/

/459/

352 [364] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not

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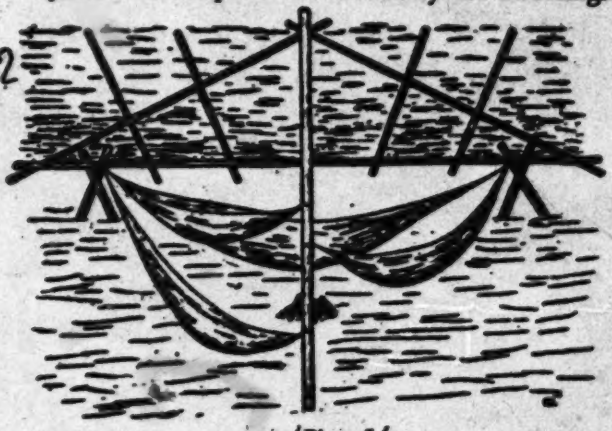

/Fig. 5/

351 be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patio Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

/469 cont./

513 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika
● 352 must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good
514 and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a
[251] shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being con-
726 stantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few
[276] platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

Plate V

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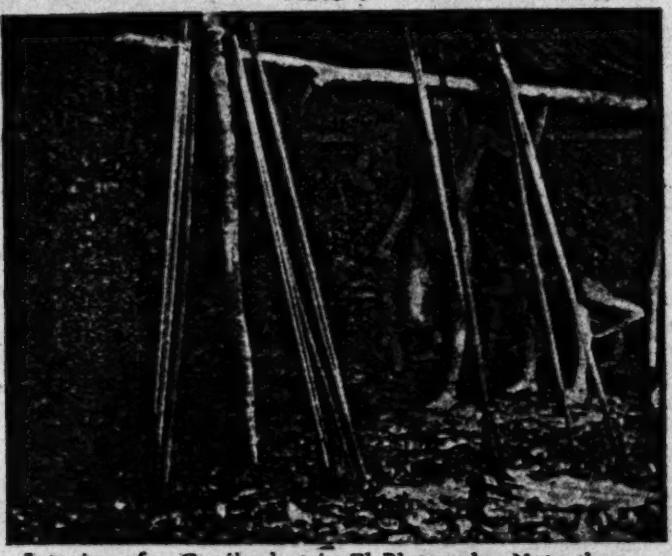

Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

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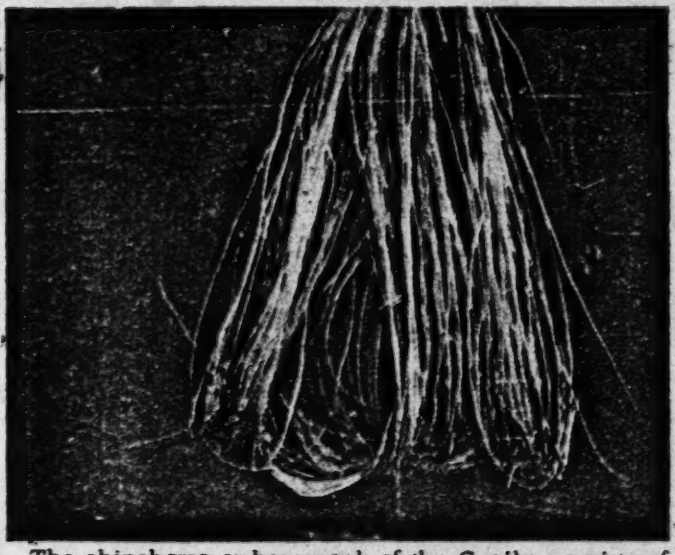

The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

/164 cont./
729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained
some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They
had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later
their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
• [352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old
hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of
vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned
with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days,
until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place.
The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was
the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the
principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti
began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that
farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains
were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it
would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so
much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed.
/Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The
revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders
advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were
camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed
him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them
camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River.
The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to
have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them
to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It
was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and
made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north
side.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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TOP: Women of the "Platanal". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Both men and women and even the small children paint their faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

The furnishing of Waïka huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

722 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch
361 food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites
221 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and
361 feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the
574 men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding
722 in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422 All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow,
484 arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire
[411] drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the
[415] agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine
[372] hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner
[237] on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to
[352] accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they
[123] always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having
484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

[P. xviii]

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Clay pot and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Namoa-teri man shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 3-1 Armuare, Kaobawä's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yąnomamö society.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kaobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases the shortages are merely seasonal; Kaobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kaobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Duiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kaobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwarioba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kaobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kaobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yanomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from